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ing a girl's genitals through her clothes or pressing the front of his body against hers, forcing her to remain against him. Sometimes a bold, intoxicated girl will cling against a boy's body, without, however, touching his penis. If sexual intercourse does not immediately follow, the boy may subsequently find many opportunities to caress the girl's body. For the most part such caresses are directed toward the hips and genitals. An interesting exception to the rule that breasts are not used as sexual zones comes from two young men, who had been outside to school, and in sexual situations grasped girls' breasts.

Intercourse is always carried out in privacy, usually at night, and is accompanied with little or no verbalization. A period of foreplay, in which the young man handles the girl's vulva and clitoris and presses his body and face close to the partner's, proceeds the act of coitus. During the foreplay the boy helps the girl remove her slacks and bloomers, but usually these garments are not entirely removed, the girl simply withdrawing one leg. The girl avoids the sight of her partner's nudity and carefully conceals her own sexual parts with her slip, dress, or blanket. Rarely will a girl assist in intromission. During coitus, in which the common ventroventral position is occupied, there may be some kissing. The coital rhythm of the male is described as slow and oscillating or wavelike, rather than sharp or jerky, with just a bare increase of tempo as ejaculation approaches. It would appear that not all girls attain the orgasm. The man's orgasm is relatively quickly attained and there is evidence that he is not concerned with waiting for his partner's climax. Following the orgasm there may be a brief period of relaxation in which additional kissing and close embracing occurs. In this post-coital relationship the girl is described as soothing and comforting.

Sexual intercourse is behavior which requires considerable patience and time. Both partners, after having signified their interest in the act, must wait until all strangers have retired or until older people are asleep. A boy's patience is also tested when there are rivals for a girl's favor at hand. Premarital sexual relationships do not ordinarily include an unmarried girl spending the night with her lover. While there is no evidence for assuming any shame or sadness immediately following coitus, the following day sees an embarrassed avoidance of unmarried sexual partners.

Up to this point we have described the pattern of sexual stimulation and intercourse for unmarried couples in summer. Variations occur in winter when the group is smaller and outdoor interaction difficult. In that season, sexual relations between unmarried people are often limited to occasions of visits. Then a boy will come to a girl's bed in the cabin after her parents are asleep. The older folks, if awakened, are said not to notice such behavior. Between husband and wife, as between an unmarried couple who have had sufficient opportunity to become sexually familiar, the period of sexual stimulation is limited to a more direct sexual approach which does not, however, always ignore foreplay, some wives being reported to arouse their husbands manually. Boys in general appear to be eager to secure new sexual partners and only as a last resort accept a willing partner who is apt to be one of the community's more promiscuous girls.

Attitudes toward sexual intercourse describe the situation as "dandy." Nevertheless there is some ideal uneasiness regarding too excessive indulgence as well as premature indulgence. Eighteen is commonly given as the age when sexual relations can safely be

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833 begun. Most girls begin when they are fifteen or younger, and boys when they approach seventeen. Situations prohibiting intercourse are not consistently recognized. A number of 834 youths say that they would not have intercourse with a girl who is menstruating; they will, 839 however, permit a girl in this condition to masturbate them. Other boys deny such in- 842 hibitions or else utilize a condom with a menstruant. Men are generally reluctant to have intercourse with a girl who is feared to be venereally diseased, but will do so if condoms are available. "French safes," as condoms are locally designated, were largely secured from soldiers and construction workers during Highway construction but are now sold by one of the independent traders who secures them through truck drivers hauling from Dawson Creek. Coitus is not avoided before a hunting trip; in fact a man who expects to be away hunting for some time may make a point of securing intercourse before leaving.

833 When intoxicated, most of the younger men are keenly interested in describing their sexual prowess. They recount such feats as attaining several orgasms or copulating with three and four different girls in a single night. Sexual capacity is also spoken of as the ability to "wear out" a girl. One story is told of three boys who exhausted a girl by having intercourse with her twice each. Boys will reveal the names of their sexual partners only to close friends, and even this is rare unless a youth is intoxicated. From observation it is apparent that much of this conversation tends to exaggerate the frequency of coitus. It is probable that in summer an unmarried man has intercourse about once in seven or ten days. Since there are fewer unmarried girls available for this purpose, the frequency of coitus is considerably greater for this sex, averaging perhaps three or four times a week in summer for promiscuous young women. Along with the high value invested in sexual capacity, goes a [831] concern for the size of the penis, a large organ being regarded as desirable and commendable.

833 That the male's interest in sexual capacity and genital size may point to a fear of im- 787 potence is indicated by material collected from and about one thirty-two year old man. He was reported to suffer from acute impotence on two occasions. In an interview with the ethnographer, he once denied that virility declines with age, affirming that some old men are "stronger for girls" than young men. In a dream reported before specific reports of his incapacity had been obtained, he told of being in the company of his brother when he was attacked by a grizzly bear. "My gun stick. I get nervous. I try to take shot at him, My gun got no power. Goes HHH –goes out quick . . . I take all shells and put new shells in. He run around. He don't bite me. I get mad at grizzly bear. I holler at him: 'You better get away or I hit you with that gun.' " The informant tended to deny the interpretation equating the gun with the penis and the dream's situation with sexual incapacity. The rejection was inconclusive, however, the man saying that to kill a dangerous animal in a dream was a promise of effectively combating illness. "You kill him, that's lucky. You're safe . . . you're not going to die. Gun is great thing when you're dreaming."

833 Acute impotence under the influence of alcohol was denied by several informants, who reported an aphrodisiacal effect from liquor and brew.

836 Ideally, premarital sexual intercourse is disapproved of, particularly for girls. Parents, when they venture to speak of the matter, warn girls to avoid sexual relations before marriage, citing the dangers of illegitimacy and venereal infection. Such behavior may also be criticized, scolded, or otherwise punished. One girl, thirteen, who was showing a tendency

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6:16:45. "I sleep, I dream grizzly bear . . . I scared. He go up on a tree. Just I see him. He run me that grizzly bear. I run after a little way. I see him a little way behind." The dream was interpreted as a fear of being pursued by somebody. From whom is she running away? "Nobody," Eva replied. "That man he wants me but I lick him . . . I don't want him. Is good worker. . . ."

These animal dreams manifest the girl's fear of sexual aggression. Eva's second dream was reported following a discussion of the man who wanted to marry her and of one, particularly, with whom she was reported to be already living. In both dreams the sexual situation is conceived as attack and reacted to with dread. The intense fear of the grizzly bear, recounted by many male and female subjects, and the preoccupation with the grizzly in thinking suggest that unconsciously the grizzly bear symbolizes the emotional intensity of the sexual situation or any other intense emotional experience. In girls the grizzly bear fantasy takes the form of running away from the animal, just as in life the girl runs from the boys who want to possess her. Although boys admit conscious fear of the grizzly and also dream of this animal, they often dream or talk of overcoming the menace with a gun. In other words, the sexual situation is to be mastered with self-assertive tendencies. Failure to achieve such mastery, as in the dream of John Kean, whose gun failed when he was confronted by a grizzly, is the equivalent of sexual impotence.[29] In view of the male's unconscious definition of the sex act in terms of aggression, it is interesting to note Nitla's communication of the emotions he experienced when, as a ten year old, he saw a couple engaging in coitus. "I say: 'What the hell!' I'm scared. I think I kill woman sometime. I never think. Too young. I'm scared."[30]

Coming now to the manifestation of sexual constriction in sexual incapacity, we find the man's fear of impotence expressed in exaggerated ideas of potency. There is also evidence that girls and women are often frigid in coitus, partly, perhaps, because of the man's selfish sexual technique. Such interferences with the feminine orgastic functions may, however, be expected when the sex act is unconsciously conceived in terms of attack, and where there is strong ambivalence regarding the intensities of sexual interaction. In the man similar ambivalence, plus the fear of being inadequate to master what is defined as a self-assertive situation, may similarly result in orgastic disturbances.

Sexual sanctions further reveal the conflicting appeal of sex. All sexual activity is first of all regarded as indelicate and to be concealed. Children and youths are warned that premature sexuality arrests growth and that excessive copulation causes early aging or leads to insanity. There is probably a connection between the insanity invoked as a sexual sanction and the offense. Mental illness in Kaska society is usually described as running amok and manifesting general lack of conscious control. The intensity of the orgasm may resemble a similar dangerous disruption of control to the emotionally constricted Kaska, the sanction of insanity being projected from the fear of excessive orgastic stimulation. On the other hand, the Kaska regard some sexual indulgence as necessary for health.

If sexual constriction serves to block sexual expression, how can we account for the

[29] See above, p. 162.

[30] See his autobiographical sketch below, pp. 351–352. Also note his reference to the vagina dentata theme in the same place—the fear of death in intercourse.

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Tsalona
upper Liard

841 *Tsalona.* Because menstruation threatened a man's dream power thereby imperiling his success in hunting, women remained isolated during the period of the flow. Widow Matoit, at Fort Nelson, spoke of willow-bark enclosures surrounding the menstruant that prevented her from seeing out of the camp. A woman also stuffed feathers in her ears in order not to hear the hunters returning to camp. A Lower Post informant described all fresh meat and fish as being taboo to the menstruant. The avoidance referred to the dislike which the animals felt for the menstrual blood.

SEX

831 *Upper Liard Kaska.* Despite a certain ambivalence regarding sexual processes the Indians keenly appreciated the excitement of sexual situations. They also sought to
832 explain the nature of sexual attraction by referring to the anecdote of an old man who could not understand why the sexes desired physical contact with each other and asked the people for their opinion. People felt that sexual desire ultimately stemmed from a desire for offspring. Informants localised sexual tension in the testes, the organs responsible for erection and sexual desire. The testes also influenced human thought processes, provoking imagery of "women" in the man. These ideas in turn helped to create physiological readiness for copulation. Internally women possessed the equivalent of testes. A certain measure of sexual intercourse was desirable because of the pleasure it aroused. Coitus was even beneficial if pursued in moderation. However, a boy might be weakened for life should he enter sexual relations before 18 or 19 years
[839] of age. Masturbation led to insanity or blindness and in a child was punished by whipping the hands with a willow switch. Coitus could also diminish a man's dream power; hence a shaman who wanted to maximate his strength abstained from sexual relations and dreamed of participating in heterosexual intercourse. The women in his dreams represented his animal sponsors. Men possessed stronger drives for coitus than women and some men were more highly sexed than others.

• 833 An informant believed that people engaged in sex acts more frequently in summer than in winter.[10] In summer unmarried couples copulated in daylight or at night, but always in the privacy of the bush. A husband and wife waited until after nightfall and the sex act between them always occurred in the dwelling. Sometimes a man reached orgasm two or three times in a night but that was uncommon and a mark of youth. When he was 18 the average man reached orgasm about seven times a week. An estimated six out of ten men 20 years old could copulate twice a night and three out of ten, three times a night but probably not every night. By the age of 30 marital relations were reduced to about once a week on the average and at 40 to about once every two weeks.

831 While sexual relations of a casual sort were common enough before marriage, the
593 culture of the Kaska Indians included a notion of love and lifelong devotion. "If a man loved his wife very much he would not marry again when she dies. He'll remain single all his life." Similar sentiments motivated a man on journeys to carry mementoes of

[10] In 1944-45 we estimated a higher frequency of summer conception. Honigmann, *Culture and Ethos of Kaska Society* (1949), 37, 232.

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Upper Liard

832 a man employed euphemisms and circumlocutions. "I'm going to stay with you," made his intention quite clear as did, "I want you, sister-in-law." Only a girl who enjoyed no respect in her community solicited coitus. Lovers sometimes agreed to meet in specific places. As is so common in North America, a girl walking alone away from camp always provided a fair target for sexual advances provided she did not come under an incest rule. At night a boy might creep close to a camp containing an unmarried girl. He slipped his hand under the sleeping robes striving to reach her body and genitals. If she pressed his hand the boy slipped under the blanket. On the other hand, if she screamed out he might be caught and punished. Another way of winning a girl's
832 favors was to sing love songs from a short distance beyond the camp. Girls often wept
533 a little when they heard the rather mournful refrains of those tunes. An example of a love song in free translation follows:

asla patiana	My sweetheart is lovely
la patiana na'q na'q	Sweetheart, I am lovely today.

To which a girl might answer:

du'ela itritia	Slow and, little brother.

832 Most girls hung back shyly from physical intimacy; hence even a willing partner had first to be caught and "forced" into submission. When such a girl struggled in the arms of her lover the boy promised "I'm not going to leave you alone. I'm going to fight you." This was calculated to make her surrender, perhaps by stressing how little resistance would avail. The struggle in which a girl's ambivalence toward sex relations was overcome did not constitute rape in the eyes of the youths. Sometimes it happened that a girl truly resisted a boy's advances. "When a girl does not want a man she hits the man." To subdue such a girl the rapist punched her leg about half-way above the knee thereby relaxing the thighs sufficiently to force them apart. Rape occurred rarely and was the resort of men who could not obtain the favors of a girl in any way. Strong women also could throw down a man, undress him, and by sitting astride his thighs force intromission. Such behavior was described as rather pleasant for the victim.

833 Ideally a girl of 17 engaged in sexual relations with a boy of her choice as a prelude to marriage. Any tendency toward promiscuity was immediately stopped and promiscuous girls were beaten. Boys also received advice to limit their attentions to one girl. One gains the impression that corrective measures seldom applied to youths who manifested varietistic tendencies. A boy usually entered upon his sexual career without tutelage from any more experienced person. Sometimes a girl, knowing that an inex-
[826] perienced boy desired coitus, kept after him until he submitted to her advances. The existence of the hymen remained unknown, the pain of first intercourse being asso-
[843] ciated with the girl's inexperience. Although most girls commenced sex relations at about 17, a girl rarely bore a child until about two years later. In the words of the informant, "Many people could get away with it for two years."

As already indicated males took the initiative in sex relations. Sometimes the couple preceded the sex act by lying together, the man talking to his partner, caressing her

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Upper Liard

hair, and running his hand across her shoulders and body. Lovers did not kiss. Various terms of endearment were current, a youth saying, for example, "You're my grub," to indicate his affection. Sibling terms of opposite sex commonly expressed the idea of "sweetheart" or "lover" but lovers also addressed each other as "brother-in-law" and "sister-in-law." Tumescence might be aided through manual contacts undertaken by a boy but a girl never touched a man's sexual organs. Oral contacts with the female genitals rarely took place, people regarding the woman's sexual parts as poisonous. A man usually removed trousers but not breech cloth or moccasins in sexual situations. The woman assumed a supine position on her back while the man lay over her, supporting part of his weight on the forearms. For a woman to lay astride a man threatened his hunting ability. Women disliked and never permitted coitus a tergo. On the average five minutes elapsed between intromission and ejaculation. The disconceptive practice of a woman partially withdrawing at the moment of her partner's orgasm disconforted the man and interfered with the strength of his climax. Women frequently bit during copulation, particularly at the moment of orgasm. Should a man finish before a woman, she might seize him from behind to force him to remain in her until she reached detumescence. Men did not generally wait for the partner to finish first but proceeded with coition at a pace to suit themselves. No hygienic measures followed the sex act. In return for her favors a man gave gifts to a partner other than a wife, presents that were returned by a companion who desired to show her affection. When they were presented to a married man such gifts often caused great embarrassment as the wife questioned their origin.

Many women in refusing sex relations apparently rationalized their aversion saying that they wanted to have game successfully. Sometimes a married woman tried to reduce the frequency of coitus in order to avoid pregnancy and childbirth, one gathers without much cooperation from the husband. The incidence of impotence in the male could not be ascertained: "a man is ashamed to tell that."

One man denied wife exchange but certified the partners to the Takhtan, among whom a woman was sometimes loaned to a brother or a friend. We are inclined to disbelieve our informant in view of the fact that the contemporary Kaska are not adverse to wife exchange.* The same informant did admit that sometimes an old man who required a young man's assistance in hunting might invite a real or classificatory brother to live with him, allowing the young man sexual access to his wife. The relationship, however, was generally phrased as marriage.* Under conditions of polygyny a husband slept with a different sexual partner about once every two nights. "The youngest wife always wants to get more and the man has to try to give her plenty." Nevertheless a polygynous husband remained careful not to neglect the older woman. When fraternal polyandry was practiced, the auxiliary husband enjoyed access to a wife only during the absence of the first husband. A woman reported her husband's brother's attentions to the senior husband when the latter returned.

In one reported case of homosexuality a man, disinclined to heterosexual relations,

* Honigmann, *Culture and Ethos of Kaska Society* (1949), [illegible].
* For additional information concerning fraternal polyandry, see below, pp. [illegible].

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Upper Liard
Dease River

838 sought young men as sexual partners, with whom he secured orgasm by appening the glans of the penes. In the morning the homosexual rewarded his lovers with gifts, treating them "just as good as women." Although dressing as a man, the homosexual removed his clothing during sexual relations. Once he tried to secure anal intromission with a sleeping man who had been eating fat and who defeated against his would-be seducer. Female homosexuals simulated copulation by "getting on top of each other." Such women were often transvestites, but no male transvestites could be recalled. Sometimes if a couple had too many female children and desired a son to hunt for them in later years, they selected a daughter to be "like a man."* When she was about five year's old the parents tied the dried ovaries of a bear to her inner belt. She wore this amulet for the rest of her life in order to avoid conception. The girl was raised as a boy. She dressed in masculine attire and performed male allocated tasks, often developing great strength and usually becoming an outstanding hunter. She screamed and broke the bow and arrows of any boy who made sexual advances to her. "She knows that if he gets her then her luck with game will be broken." Apparently such a girl entered homosexual relationships.

839 Behavior corresponding to sexual sadism, masochism, and exhibitionism could not be recalled. Mentally ill women and old men sometimes publicly revealed their genitals. Voyeurs received a scolding but were not physically punished. Animal contacts occurred only rarely. Necrophilia appears to have been totally incompatible with the prevailing attitudes toward the dead, an interpretation concurred in by our informant.*

832 *Dease River Kaska.* Love songs constituted a means of winning girls' favors and also
833 possessed magical properties designed to create favorable attitudes toward the women. In coitus the woman lay on her back. Cunnilinctus was denied but a rare woman
838 performed felicits as a preliminary to intercourse. Bestiaches were unknown but the
839 informant agreed that both male and female homosexuality sometimes occurred. Homosexual men engaged in sodomy, oral contacts being carefully avoided. Two women achieved orgasm through clinical friction. An upper Liard River informant reported a case in which some Dease River youths who had killed a cow moose copulated with the animal, an act blamed for the subsequent depopulation of the Dease basin.

MARRIAGE

581 *Upper Liard Kaska.* Ideally marriages were for permanency and a man who tried to
586 leave his wife would be urged by the community to reconsider his decision. Despite these ideal attitudes divorce was common.

581 A man sought a wife "to dry meat for him," sew clothing, cook his meals, and perform
[illegible] the many other services culturally allocated to women. Marriage brought a youth a
[illegible] certain increment in prestige, marking as it did the transition to adulthood. It promised

* In Montenegro and other Balkan countries it was not uncommon for a girl to cause virginity and assume the role of a son in a family without heirs. Durham, Some Tribal Origins, Laws, and Customs of the Balkans (1928), [illegible].

* See letter, p. [illegible]. Thus the cultures fixed the scope of deviation. See Mead, Male and Female (1949), [illegible].